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Introduction

The seeds of post-colonialism began to take root the moment the Western colonizers lost their fight to retain colonial territories as can be seen in their humiliating defeat against Japan in the Second World War. Since the 1890's, Japan's economic emergence had posed an increasing challenge to the Dutch, British, French and Portuguese empires in Asia. Population growth and rapid expansion of industrialisation forced the Japanese to seek new economies and access to markets and raw materials in the surrounding region bringing it into an inevitable conflict with western powers. America's refusal to join forces with Japan in re-partitioning East Asia led to an attack on Pearl Harbour and once the American Pacific fleet had been substantially destroyed, Japanese authority easily and swiftly extended itself throughout much of East Asia comprising French Indochina, Malaya, Singapore and Indonesia. (see R.F. Holland 40)

The fall of Singapore can be seen as the crucial moment at which western supremacy in the East was broken for "the collapse of the British defence of Singapore, the great imperial bastion in the region, indicated the essential hollowness of colonial power in the face of external pressure". (R.F. Holland 41) After such a humiliating defeat, perspectives on colonialism began to change and become widespread. The British public began to see the empire in Asia as governed by a "whiskey-sodden old-guard of administrators and traders incapable of meeting the needs of modern business and government" (R.F.Holland 41) and doubts about the

efficacy of western rule in Asia paved the way to a more serious effort in the negotiation and granting of independence that was being demanded by the colonized peoples. To the Asians, the westerners were no longer seen as invincible and since the locals were left at the mercy of the Japanese, exposure to enormous uncertainties as to the future direction of affairs strengthened the spirit of nationalism which became a majority sentiment amongst the nationalists of many areas for it offered a point of anchorage in a confused and frightening world. The defeat of the western powers left so strong an impression on the Asian imagination that even after the Japanese were finally defeated and driven back by the Americans, the returning Europeans were not able to piece together the fragments of their old mastery. Suffice it to say that, in general, the impact of the Second World War on western political power and, above all, on the economy was such as to make the loss of empire inevitable, even if African independence was subsequently delayed .

European attitudes towards imperialism were changed after the war. The Japanese conquest of Manchuria before 1939 and of much of South East Asia from 1941-1945 had seemed immoral. German imperialism within Europe which resulted in the deaths of millions of Jews aroused horror. Recognition that many colonies were contributing to the allied war effort generated criticism of colonial regimes and the creation of the UN as a forum for international opinion on colonial matters were followed by active investigation undertaken by its Trusteeship Council (which had replaced the much less critical Mandates Commission of the League). All of the above factors combined to put all imperial powers on the defensive and with much

reluctance, the colonial masters admitted that the colonies would ultimately have to be given self-government. The powers of decolonization can be divided into two parts. Before 1950, Europe and America released those dependencies which had been on the verge of independence in 1939 or were able to demand it as a direct result of the Second World War. Dependencies released in the first phase include the Philippines which became a sovereign state in 1946 while Jordan and Syria ceased to be British or French mandates also in 1946. India and Pakistan achieved independence in 1947 followed by Ceylon in 1948. The second phase began in about 1956 and during the first period most of the new states were in the Islamic Middle East or in the East; thereafter the majority were in Africa. Some of the colonies which achieved independence in the second phase include Egyptian Sudan in 1956; Malaya in 1957 that was joined by Singapore, North Borneo and Sarawak in 1963 as part of the new Federation of Malaysia; and countries in Africa such as Ghana in 1957 followed by Ivory Coast, Dahomey, Upper Volta, Senegal, Mauritania, Niger, Mali, Central African Republic and Chad gaining independence from France in 1960. Nigeria was liberated by the British in 1960. Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago in 1962 and many more in the years to come.

The decline in European supremacy from the closing years of World War 2 to the early 1970's allowed anticolonial sentiment to thrive and the call for a renunciation of western standards was widely and often passionately articulated in formerly colonized territories through their body of literary criticism and gradually through their works of literature particularly in Africa and the Caribbean. A majority of African and Caribbean colonies had won

their independence between 1957-1973, an important period which witnessed the Cuban and Algerian revolutions, the Trinidadian Black Power uprising, the civil rights movement in the United States, the student revolts of 1968 and the humbling of the United States during the Vietnam War. These events were turning points in the history of western supremacy and it should come as no surprise that anticolonial sentiments began to encroach into new works of literature from these parts.

Texts such as Shakespeare's The Tempest, Defoe's Robinson Crusoe, Conrad's Heart of Darkness and many more were examined and criticised as works which condoned colonialism and racism resulting in these texts being the subject of countless revisions and literary criticism. Revisions of The Tempest include a play written by the Martiniquan poet, Aimé Césaire titled Une Tempête; a novel, Water With Berries written by the West Indian writer George Lamming who also produced a critical account of "one man's ways of seeing" (13) in The Pleasures of Exile. Essentially, these revisions established a common paradigm in which Prospero has been ousted from power as from the island and Caliban rehabilitated as a heroic figure of independence. Caliban even inspired the acclaimed Cuban writer Roberto Fernández Retamar to draw up an extended list of model Caliban rebels for the Caribbean world which included such political and cultural heroes as Toussaint-Louverture, leader of the first successful Caribbean struggle for independence, The Haitian Slave Revolt of 1791-1803; Fidel Castro, Aimé Césaire, Alejo Carpenter and Frantz Fanon. Apart from The Tempest, Robinson Crusoe has been linked to colonialism in the sense that Crusoe who possessed an independent and pioneering spirit became a model for

the explorers and future colonizers to be more enterprising ensuring the spread of capitalism and accumulation of profit. At the same time, racism is present in his relationship with his slave, Friday. In Conrad's Heart of Darkness, the very question of the source of darkness or evil is challenged by the Nigerian writer Chinua Achebe who sees Africa as corrupted by the white colonizers and not the other way around.

In terms of post-colonial reading, The Tempest is significant because it was one of the most important plays written during the Renaissance period in England during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries when belief in Imperialism or the expansion of the British Empire was very strong and prior to the 1950's and 60's, many readings and productions of the play were procolonial in nature. Shakespearean scholars have agreed that many of the play's themes were culled from the voyage literature found in abundance during Shakespeare's time. Frank Kermode, in support of the early scholars who included C.M. Gayley, Cawley, Hotson and Morton Luce who edited the original Arden edition of The Tempest of which the latest revision was published in 1938; argued that the play's major themes were precipitated by reports of a particular incident in British efforts to colonize North America. In 1609, nine ships set out from England to settle the colonies in Jamestown and Virginia. One of the ships 'The Sea Venture' disappeared only to miraculously reappear with its passengers in Virginia a year later. They were shipwrecked off the Bermudas which was believed to be diabolically dangerous but was now discovered to be providentially mild and fruitful. These events, recorded in the year just preceding The Tempest were seen as a relevant context for the play and its other additional sources include

Hakluyt's Principal Navigations (1598-1600) and Florio's 1603 translation of Montaigne. Such early historical interpretations placed the play in the "context of voyaging discourse in general which stressed the romance and exoticism of discoveries in the old as well as the New World." (Skura 40: 43) Therefore "The Tempest's stylized allegory abstracts the romance core of all voyager's experience" (Skura 40: 43) Long and dangerous voyages to the New World, not to mention happy shipwrecks, were seen as emblematic of man's life and of providence. Samuel Purchas, a prominent figure of Jacobean travel literature felt obliged to present new facts about foreign lands with full reference to classical voyages and to the moral implications of voyaging and colonizing in his books, Purchas his Pilgrimage(1613) and Purchas his Pilgrims (1625). Indeed, many books by writers such as Purchas, William Strachey and Peter Martyr as well as many sermons were much concerned with the task of persuading the public that exploration was an honourable and sanctified activity.

Colonization was defended on the ground that it diffused the true religion and in any case, the natives of these foreign lands could not be regarded as civilized people. This line of thought dominated the earlier critical heritage of The Tempest and the play demonstrated the main opposition between the worlds of Prospero's Art and Caliban's Nature making Caliban the natural man against whom the cultivated man is measured. Frank Kermode in his preface to the 1954 edition of Arden Shakespeare's The Tempest wrote in support of the Renaissance argument for colonization by identifying Caliban as the "core" or "ground" of the play and upon encountering this strange representative of "uncivilized" man, one

is prompted to reexamine the concept of "civilized" human nature. In Frank Kermode's interpretation of Nature versus Nurture, Caliban has no place in the civilized world for he is "A born devil, on whose nature/ Nurture can never stick" (IV.i.188-189). Uneducable, amoral and spiritually degenerate, Caliban is destined to remain an ignoble being, an unsalvageable reprobate whose bodily infirmity is infected with wickedness. By contrast, Prospero is a mage who exercises the supernatural powers of the holy adept and therefore possesses a superior morality which gives him the right to enslave Caliban. Ironically, Kermode stands on shaky ground for when his bestial, amoral man, Caliban is compared with Antonio who has been raised with all the benefits of his civilization; the slave is able to seek for grace while the malicious nobleman is silent without remorse. Not all critics however, agreed with the procolonial readings of Kermode, Luce, Cawley and others. Scholars who were their contemporaries like Harry Levin, Leslie Fiedler and Leo Marx have highlighted Prospero's flaws and their relation to the dark side of Europe's confrontation with the other. They have suggested that Prospero, like the Europeans, in trying to understand the New World representatives of uncivilized behaviour, had imposed Old World stereotypes of innocence and monstrosity on the Native Americans.

Due to a sense of dissatisfaction with the critical works of earlier scholars, discussion of Shakespeare's sources for The Tempest and his New World allusions in the play has taken interesting directions resulting in among other things a critical reevaluation of conventional source study of the past. There have been many doubts with regards to the objectivity of the critics or scholars who are familiar with source texts of the play for it is clear

that source study is to a large extent made up of varying degrees of speculation. Therefore, it should come as no surprise that we find more recent commentators discarding all pretence of demonstrating that Shakespeare "knew" a given text; instead we discover an increasing interest in the exploration of discursive contexts. The Tempest and its source texts are then to be seen as valuable in the sense that they illustrate the general spirit of the times and although the play is still placed in the context of the New World, it is now interpreted in terms of post-colonial discourse. Using textual evidence which points to an authorial awareness of foreign lands and strange beings, a link is made between the dispossessed slave Caliban with the dispossessed American Indians as seen in a reference to the "still-vex'd Bermoothes"(I.ii.229) which paints the island's geography as more tropical in nature and a reference to "Setebos"(I.ii.375) a South American Patagonian god that Caliban and his mother worshipped. Also, the natural response of Trinculo and Stephano upon seeing Caliban is immediately to link him with the "few men of Inde"(II.ii.58) and "a dead Indian"(II.ii.34); exhibits whom the people of England during Shakespeare's time were willing to pay ten "doits" to see rather than donate the money to a lame beggar. Not only do the jester Trinculo and the drunken butler Stephano automatically perceive Caliban as an object for profit, Antonio too describes him as "marketable"(V.i.266). These are two sad instances in the play which reflects the rampant and inhuman colonial practice of commercial exploitation using the natives of newfound lands. Indeed, Leslie A. Fiedler explains in his book The Stranger in Shakespeare that "at the moment when The Tempest was being shown for the first time, bazaars were in progress to raise money for the imperiled

Jamestown Colony." (Fiedler 229) These bazaars would have contained so-called New World "freaks" on display for the paying public.

Apart from their capitalistic motive, these white explorers have also upon landing on these foreign lands conveniently assumed their right to rule as shown in the play when one examines Prospero's words "that I am Prospero,.../ who most strangely/ upon this shore,/...was landed,/ To be the Lord on't."(V.i.159-162) Clearly Caliban's prior existence on the island was never of any consequence in Prospero's claim for ownership. Even Gonzalo is to an extent guilty of such imperialist attitude although his crime exists only at the level of thought for his words "Had I plantation of this isle", (II.i.138); And were the King on't," (II.i.141) conjure up images rooted in reality and history of the once existing vast plantations which were set up by European settlers in America, the West Indies and the Caribbean where plantation slaves like Caliban were treated cruelly and exploited by their tyrannical masters. So pervasive is the European tendency to assume sovereignty that it exists even in the lower strata of society as illustrated in the play by the fanciful yet bold remarks of Stephano firstly to Trinculo "the King and all our company else being drown'd, we will inherit here" (II.ii.174-175) and secondly to Caliban, "Trinculo and thyself shall be viceroys" (III.ii.108) which reminds us that viceregal government was a standard form of colonial rule in Spanish America. So varied is the texture of the play that it is not only tinged with South American flavour for there are other allusions in the play which places it in the context of Africa and black slavery as in the case of Caliban whose mother Sycorax hailed from "Argier" (I.ii.265), a country in the north of Africa. Such a reference has

opened up many possible post-colonial readings that identifies Caliban with negroes or blacks. In short, The Tempest has become a rather unstable entity which is constantly generating a myriad of meanings and the writer and critic Paul Brown has appropriately called it "a site of radical ambivalence." (Hamlin 22: 18)

Interestingly, Caliban has always played a significant role in many interpretations of the play. We have seen him evolve into an American Indian and a negro slave but these new versions of Caliban did not just occur overnight; rather they are the result of the slow process of changing perceptions towards the world, especially in the later part of the nineteenth century when social Darwinian ideas and imperialistic doctrines were making a major impact on the British public and in the 1950's and 60's when the retreat of the British Empire permitted a very different view of the relationship between Prospero and Caliban. Nowhere are the changing faces of Caliban more vividly illustrated than in the various portrayals of him in theatre that in turn has given rise to a prodigious outflow of criticism. Prior to the nineteenth century, critical responses most notably from Dryden, Johnson, and Mrs. Montagu were dominated by the interest in "preternatural beings". In 1667, Sir William Davenant with the help of John Dryden produced an adaptation of Shakespeare's The Tempest in which Caliban was seen as the traditional comic wild man whose strong rebellious streak was used to reflect the adapters' anti-democratic sentiments. The Davenant-Dryden adaptation displaced Shakespeare's original play and was the most popular play on the Restoration stage. It was basically a political vehicle for them to air their dissent against the Whigs, a dominant political party in

England at the time and to defend their belief in the restored monarchy as well as the opposition to change. This clearly demonstrates that in the eighteenth century, colonial elements in The Tempest were not yet pursued.

Interpretations of Caliban gradually came to reflect vaguely colonial and Republican themes only in nineteenth century theatre, where Caliban appeared "as an 'underdeveloped native', a 'red Republican', a Darwinian missing link', the 'spirit of Democracy.'" (Griffiths 13: 160) More recently, to some sensitive critics, he appeared as an oppressed minority. In 1838, George Bennett gave a subtle and sympathetic interpretation of Caliban which received much praise from the critic P. MacDonnell: "Even Caliban, with all his grossness and hideous deformity is a poetical character, and Mr. George Bennett...gave it great breadth and vigour, without a particle of vulgarity". (Era, 9 October) Furthermore, MacDonnell argued that despite having a rude nature, an ugly and deformed exterior and a lustful craving for revenge, Caliban still retained qualities of a redeeming nature. It is interesting to note that perhaps MacDonnell's response was such because the year, 1838, in which the play was staged was the same year which witnessed the final abolition of slavery in the British Empire. Part of Bennett's success could be attributed to his close attention to the text, where he adopted long nails and high foreheads in response to Caliban's offer to dig for pignuts with his long nails and his fear of being turned into a low-browed ape. Bennett's interpretation, however, was not aimed at making specifically colonial points but it paved the way for a gradual displacement of the older interpretation of Caliban as "preternatural being" associated with the Dryden-Davenant version.

William and Robert Brough's play, The Enchanted Isle, written and first performed in 1848 offered the first overtly Republican Caliban who was also identified textually with anti-slavery campaigns. Although the role did not demand a black Caliban, Broughs' Caliban was a "revolutionary entering the Marseillaise with a cap of liberty on his head" and "a red flag in one hand" [who] when Miranda calls him a slave, replies with "Slave! Come, drop that sort of bother;/ Just let me ax, Ain't I a man and a brother?" (Griffiths 13:161) Here Caliban the revolutionary is given the opportunity to voice out anti-slavery slogans for he appeals to the audience whom he calls "Sons of freedom" to "Pity and protect the slave".(Griffiths 179,180) The slavery element however was not always used to his advantage. For instance Caliban was used by Punch in an anti-American Civil War cartoon on 24 January 1863 where a black talks to a Union soldier whilst a Confederate glowers in the background. The caption read "CALIBAN (SAMBO). "YOU BEAT HIM 'NOUGH, MASSA! BERRY LITTLE TIME, I'LL BEAT HIM TOO"-SHAKESPEARE (nigger translation). With this, Caliban was made intellectually available as a black slave and this identification of Caliban with blacks was to have far-reaching consequences in time to come. The success of The Enchanted Isle established the idea of Caliban as a Republican and as an enslaved black native.

Caliban's image that was positively enhanced both by Bennett's sensitive portrayal of him and Brough's original interpretation of Caliban as Republican and oppressed slave minority suffered a setback with the advent of Darwin's ideas in the 1860's on the Theory of evolution in The Origin of Species and The Descent of Man (1871) which led to Caliban's identification

with Darwin's "missing link". It is easy to see how the connection came about for Caliban had been referred to as ape as early as 1770 and the combination of bestial and human qualities in Caliban made him a potential analogue to "the missing link" as well as an underdeveloped native. As a result, future theatrical representatives of Caliban inevitably developed along the lines of "an anthropoid ape". In relation to Darwin's theory, Caliban was categorised as one of the "primitive" races that was assumed to be in the early stages of evolution as compared to civilized European man. Races "lower" in the evolutionary scale had "inferior" mental development because psychological faculties such as intelligence and moral sense were also part of a graduated evolution. Caliban then, was a creature without a developed moral sense but who could learn language and this was perfect for a scheme to justify European tutelage of the "underdeveloped" (black) natives in the colonial territories.

As a result of the widespread impact of Darwin's ideas in the 1860's and 70's, disheartening comments on Caliban emerged. Richard Dickins believed that Caliban was "almost all animal, but with glimmerings of human intellect, the undeveloped soul feeling up for the light through the mass brute instinct in which it [was] encased." (qtd in Griffiths 13: 164) Similar to Dickins, Daniel Wilson who was somewhat a degenerationist argued that Caliban was a creature who neither possessed the moral instincts of man nor the savagery of apes. Thus he occupies the intermediate position between the ape and man - the missing link. Such views expose the prejudice towards the "other" and although they can be seen as simplifications which distort popular perceptions of complex scientific

analysis, one thing is certain: these views serve to affirm the ideology in which power relations are encoded. Such propagandizing can be detected in Daniel Wilson's faintly patronizing description of Caliban as being in need of tutoring and development, the same argument that was advanced by Imperialist theorists to justify the European "civilizing mission."

Other comments with regard to the nature of Caliban were much more thoughtful and enlightening. Andrew Lang defended Caliban and the "primitive" peoples as exploited innocents whose potential was abused by the colonizers. Lang's article for Harper's New Monthly Magazine, 84(April 1892) became a standard defence of Caliban:-

He was introduced to the benefits of civilization, He was instructed. The resources of his island were developed. He was like the red men of America, the blacks in Australia, the tribes of Hispaniola. Then he committed an offence...he was punished. Do we not punish the natives' all over the world, all we civilized powers?...My sympathies have always been with the 'the natives', with Caliban. He is innocent and simple,...If Caliban wants to kill Prospero, as he does, can one blame him?. Prospero had taken his land, had enslaved him, had punished him cruelly (660)

Another critical response was to F.R. Benson's athletic portrayal of Caliban in which he swarmed up trees, hung head down from branches and carried real fish in his mouth; the first actor regarded to have consciously played the part of Caliban as a sort of "missing link". A "lady visitor" writing in the

Stratford Herald(1 May) felt that Benson saw Caliban as "not even on a level with beasts" which compelled her to ask:

What purpose is served by such an impersonation?...There are better things even in the vile and hateful slave Caliban...It is possible from time to time to feel pity mix with our loathing for the ill-used, down-trodden wretch who having had his peaceful island wrested from him, is wantonly tortured and tormented for not obeying the despot, who has despoiled him of all his possessions with alacrity and cheerfulness...There was no need of apish jabberings, certainly no attempt to set before the audience, from a Darwinian point of view, a hideous and degraded, and after all, only a hypothetical phase of evolution.

It is interesting that she uses the word "hypothetical" to describe that phase in evolution known as the "missing link" for it gives rise to a more disturbing notion. Just as the missing link remains unproven, the whole concept of the supremacy of the European and of the inferiority of the natives is actually just an illusion, an unproved hypothesis, conjured up by the colonizers to suit their less than noble aims to reap profit from the resource-laden colonial territories. After the 1890's further productions of The Tempest did not elicit much enthusiastic response and the play's colonial themes remained largely unexplored.

The next significant production of The Tempest was staged only in 1904 by Herbert Beerbohm Tree which established Caliban as the star of the show who caught flies, ate fish, cracked oysters and was jealous of

Ferdinand whom he regarded as a rival in his continued aspirations to win Miranda. The play's importance lies in the fact that although it was unabashedly procolonial, it ironically elicited the first recorded response to the play in anti-imperial terms. A European member of the audience associated the action to events surrounding the Matabele uprising in Rhodesia. He felt a sting of conscience upon hearing the words of the long brutalised Caliban "This island's mine, by Sycorax my mother, which thou takest from me" and saw before his own eyes a dramatisation of the whole case of the aborigine against aggressive civilization. He saw Caliban as the double of old King Lobengula of Matabele who like Caliban was "strok'dst", "mad'st much of" and given the empty promises of the Chartered Company to secure the charter. Another notable aspect of the play can be seen in the last act which showed "the uncanny figure of Caliban seated on a rock and silhouetted against an azure sky watching the departing vessel sailing away from the enchanted shores sped by auspicious gales." (Era 17) With this last scene, Beerbohm Tree wanted to convey the regret that Caliban was feeling at being deprived of the human companions who have brought him much pain and amusement, and taught him "to seek for grace." He explains in his own acting arrangement titled The Tempest, as Arranged for the Stage that Caliban "turns 'sadly' in the direction of the ship, stretches out his arms to it 'in mute despair' and, as night falls, he is left 'on the lonely rock' as 'a King once more'" (Griffiths 13: 170) Clearly Tree is implying that Caliban needs the civilizing influence of Prospero and his companions without which he is lost for Caliban here is the ignorant native who has spurned the enlightenment brought by the colonist Prospero and has only now learnt its true value.

Tree's reading of Caliban is uncannily similar to O.Mannoni's who in his book Prospero and Caliban: The Psychology of Colonization had stressed on the "dependency complex" of the natives towards their colonizers. It is Mannoni's belief that the germ of the complex was latent in natives (particularly the Malagasy) from childhood. Colonized peoples were psychologically made for dependence, needed dependence and craved the guidance and authority of the colonizers to build their civilization. The colonizers as portrayed by Mannoni were noble beings bringing enlightenment and salvation to the New World natives. However, Mannoni had failed to realize that it was the colonizer's preceeding economic dependency and tyranny that shaped the natives into "dependent" personalities. Indeed, Caliban's despair can instead be seen as bewilderment for he has inherited, by force, the western values and morals of Prospero and try as he might to forget Prospero and Miranda, he will from now on be forever imprisoned by Prospero's language and torn between the two worlds. What use is he as King once more when his basic urge to beget subjects has been denied? Hence Caliban has much cause to be forlorn about his uncertain future for he is unable to choose the next course of action.

Such instances of anti-colonial response to the play remained largely ignored. It was another forty-four years before questions challenging the alleged supremacy of the European colonizers rose to prominence in the 1960's in response to the French social scientist, Octave Mannoni's book, Prospero and Caliban: The Psychology of Colonization written in 1950 and translated in 1956 which forcefully and explicitly identified Caliban with

colonized and exploited people in general and was thus the catalyst to a radical change in Caliban's image. The book shows Prospero displaying the psychology of colonists who projected their disowned traits onto New World natives. This argument seems to have been adopted by Chinua Achebe in his treatment of Joseph Conrad's protagonist Mr. Kurtz. Kurtz in succumbing to his dark side becomes one with the "barbaric" natives but one must not forget that the seed of his dark side would have been cultivated in Europe before his contact with Africa and this is what Achebe attacks when he accuses the Europeans of projecting their neurosis or disowned traits of their dark sides onto the natives thus attributing to them qualities which make them the antithesis of the white man, savage, sexually uninhibited and spiritually degenerate. Not all of Mannoni's book, however, is that insightful. His portrayal of the Malagasy native as a passive chap with an innate desire to seek dependence on the colonizer has been generally rejected or at least modified, especially by black authors in the 1960's and 70's. Frantz Fanon's Black Skins, White Masks devotes a chapter to "The so-called Dependency Complex of Colonial Peoples" in which he strongly objects to Mannoni's playing down of racism's impact on the Malagasies and his denial that colonization was largely motivated by economic needs. The Malagasy dependency complex is not an innate or culture-inspired condition but a product of white colonization. In other words, it was Prospero's tyranny that shaped Caliban into a dependent personality. Furthermore, Fanon and Aimé Césaire also vehemently disagreed with Mannoni's opinion that Caliban's revolt in league with Trinculo was not for the purpose of gaining his freedom but to have a new master whose "foot-licker" he had become. They accused Mannoni of turning Caliban into an eager partner in his own colonization who

not only subconsciously expected but even desired the coming of the European colonizers. Such a portrayal of Caliban would conveniently discount any possibility of Europe being culpable for the exploitation of the colonies.

As a contrast to Mannoni, we have the first fully fledged Caribbean appropriation of The Tempest in the Barbadian George Lamming's The Pleasures of Exile published in 1960. Both writers viewed decolonization very differently for the Frenchman was in Madagascar as a social scientist observing and systemizing the psychological impulses behind a rising struggle for independence, while the Barbadian's reflection on decolonization was less detached and more personal. Indeed, Lamming declared himself to be Caliban's heir and was the first Caribbean writer to champion Caliban. He hoped that his non-fictional The Pleasures of Exile would redeem from the past, as well as stimulate, an indigenous Antillean line of creativity to rival the European traditions which is why much of his preoccupation stems from the fact that he sees Caliban's linguistic predicament as similar to his own. Since he is a writer by vocation, he is especially aware of how colonization has generated linguistic discrimination as in his case, a West Indian born into English but is branded a second-class speaker of his first language. Lamming is disturbed by the paradox of independence for although the natives achieve autonomy they would still be shackled to the colonizer's language-whether English, French or Spanish. "Prospero lives in the absolute certainty that Language which is his gift to Caliban is the very prison which Caliban's achievements will be realized and restricted. Caliban can never reach perfection, not even the perfection

implicit in Miranda's privileged ignorance." (Lamming 110) It is Caliban's sad fate that as long as he remains bound to his former master's language, he is partly condemned to live the life of a servant. Despite such pessimism, it is to Lamming's credit that instead of pandering slavishly to a British norm, he produced a most original work which treated that norm as a pretext for and object of abuse. Furthermore, he unearthed the figure of Toussaint Louverture who led the first successful Caribbean struggle for Independence (1791-1803) and equated him to Caliban in order to strengthen the conviction that regardless of linguistic dilemmas, Caribbean culture and politics should ideally continue to be allies in each other's decolonization.

A response to Lamming's work came in the form of Prospero's Magic: Some Thoughts on Class and Race written by an English colonial, Philip Mason which sought to counteract Lamming's views and give credence to Mannoni's ideas by using them to rationalize resistance to colonialism in Kenya, India and Southern Rhodesia. Influenced by Mannoni's arguments, Mason came to the conclusion that "a colonial rebellion may be a protest not against repression but against progress, not against the firm hand but against its withdrawal" and so deep is every "tribal" society's craving for firm authority that "countries newly released from colonialism...[will experience] a reduction of personal freedom." (Mason 80) Mason's ideas were based on his experience of more than twenty years as a colonial employee in India, Nigeria and Rhodesia where he witnessed the death throes, or as he calls it, the fulfilment of British imperialism. The political atmosphere of 1962 however, forced him to perceive The Tempest in a new light and he was discomfited by his recognition of the Prospero in himself. By then a shift in

the personification of evil from Caliban to Prospero had occurred for Caliban has become the hero and Prospero the villain. Mason could only concede: "While many of us today find we dislike in Prospero things we dislike in ourselves, our fathers admired them without question and so indeed did my generation until lately. [W]e are perhaps moving towards some new conception of authority; in the family, in the state, and in international affairs." (Mason 92 & 96) Clearly Mason is trying to reconcile the fact that "colonialism was becoming increasingly discredited with his personal need to salvage some value and self-respect from his decades of colonial 'service'." (Nixon 13: 565) Mason then became the first among his generation to recognize distaste for Prospero while suffering a personal shock at his own sudden redundancy.

Contrary to Mason whose initial response was to support Mannoni, Aimé Césaire, a black writer from Martinique boldly upbraided his former schoolmaster for an inadequate examination of the colonial situation. Mannoni had served as an instructor in a Martiniquan school where Césaire had been his precocious student before his stint in Madagascar. Aimé Césaire's play Une Tempête is a reworking of The Tempest and he has made his motives explicit when he declared that to him, "Prospero is the complete totalitarian. I am always surprised when others consider him the wise man who 'forgives'...Prospero is the man of cold reason, the man of methodical conquest - in other words, a portrait of the 'enlightened' European." (qtd in Nixon 13: 571) Césaire's play Une Tempête is a radically polarized adaptation of Shakespeare. Instead of forgiveness and reconciliation, we have irreconcilable differences and the play's colonial

dimensions are brought to the fore, for instance, Antonio and Alonso vie with Prospero for control over newly charted lands abroad. Prospero is demythologized, less white magical [not so much the benign practitioner of good magic] and his dubious power is embodied in antiriot control gear and an arsenal. Césaire's Prospero is the violator of life on the island, he is, as Caliban calls him, the "anti-natur."

These recent revisionist readings do not call our attention to history in general but rather to one aspect of history: to the power relation and to the ideology in which power relations are encoded. Revisionists argue that the English did not just innocently apply stereotypes or project their own fears onto the New World inhabitants: they did so to a particular effect, whether consciously or unconsciously. Such various distortions were strategies that served the political purpose of justifying colonialism in the New World. The Tempest then can be seen as a political act, "a pretext for a paternalistic approach to colonial administration that sanctions a variety of enlightened procedures ranging from the soft word to the closed fists." (Cartelli 106) Emphasis on the colonial aspects of The Tempest has flourished in the twentieth century outside the English-speaking nations, as seen in the examples of Lamming's, Fanon's and Césaire's writings. The trend started in the 1890's in Central and South America and especially in the Caribbean and Africa where writers from Third World Nations have chosen to see The Tempest as embodying the neglected meanings for their societies. For instance, Caliban's fighting spirit became the inspiration for anti-colonial struggles among graduates of British and French universities who were frequently the first generation of their regions self-assured and numerous

enough to collectively call for a renunciation of the bequeathed values of the colonial powers. These dissenting intellectuals saw European colonialism being increasingly discredited and purposely "chose to utilize a European text as a strategy for (in George Lamming's words) getting "out from under this ancient mausoleum of [western] historic achievement." (Nixon 13: 558)

They seized upon The Tempest as a way of amplifying their calls for decolonization and in the process, hints of New World culture and history were dragged to the surface while at other moments they unabashedly refashioned the play to suit contemporary and cultural needs. For them, Caliban is no mere fish or monster or even North American; instead, he is significant as an emblematic identification with modern man and women especially Africans and Latin Americans. Some of these authors chose to see Caliban as a handy image for everything gross or ruthless in a domineering nation or social class such as European racism, whereas others preferred to stress Caliban's implicit virtues which encompass his innate sensitivity, rough dignity, articulateness and intelligence rather than his more crude characteristics. The new Caliban is therefore symbolic of countless victims of European imperialism and colonization, because like Caliban, colonized people were disinherited, exploited and subjugated; they also learnt the colonizer's language and perhaps his values and had to endure enslavement and contempt by European colonialists and eventually rebelled.

In short, the Third World's image of Caliban emphasized his foreignness, his "otherness" and since then he has become their representative as demonstrated by Roberto Fernández Retamar's words:

What is our history, What is our culture,
if not the history and culture of Caliban?(1971)